THE

PILGRIM FATHERS

NEITHER

PURITANS NOR PERSECUTORS.

A Lecture

DELIVERED AT THE

FRIENDS' INSTITUTE, LONDON,

ON THE 18TH JANUARY, 1866

(REPRINTED IN 1891, WITH PREFACE),

BY

BENJAMIN SCOTT, F.R.A.S.,

CHAMBERLAIN OF THE CITY OF LONDON; HONORARY MEMBER OF THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY, AND OF THE MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL AND GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.

"THE ignorance still existing on this subject is almost incredible. We find men of education who seem to have no exact information respecting the PILGRIM FATHERS. Quarterly Reviewers, Members of Parliament, Christian Divines, and Ecclesiastical Historians speak of them with the same complacent disregard of facts. This is discouraging, but nothing is gained by yielding to prejudice, learned or illiterate, and the only remedy is *more light.*"—DR. WADDINGTON.

FOURTH EDITION.

LONDON:

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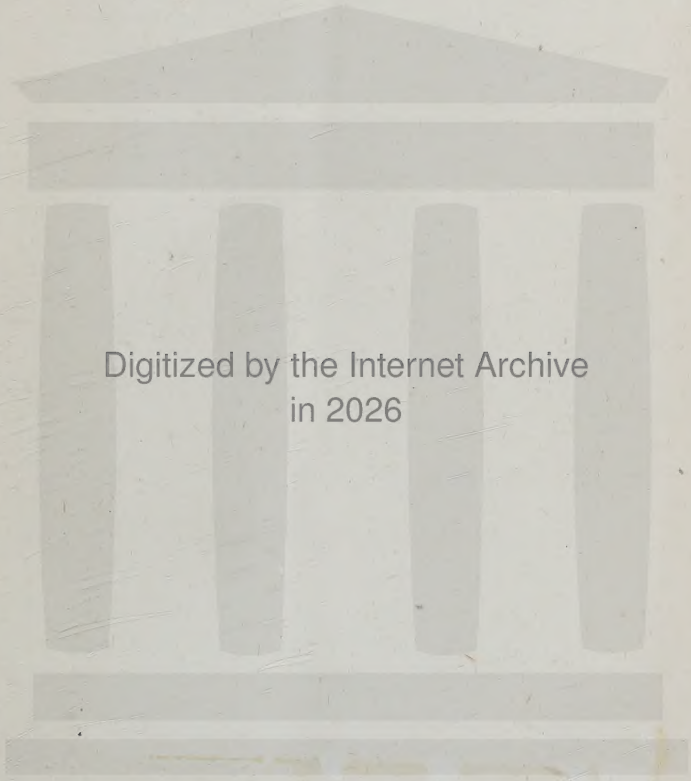
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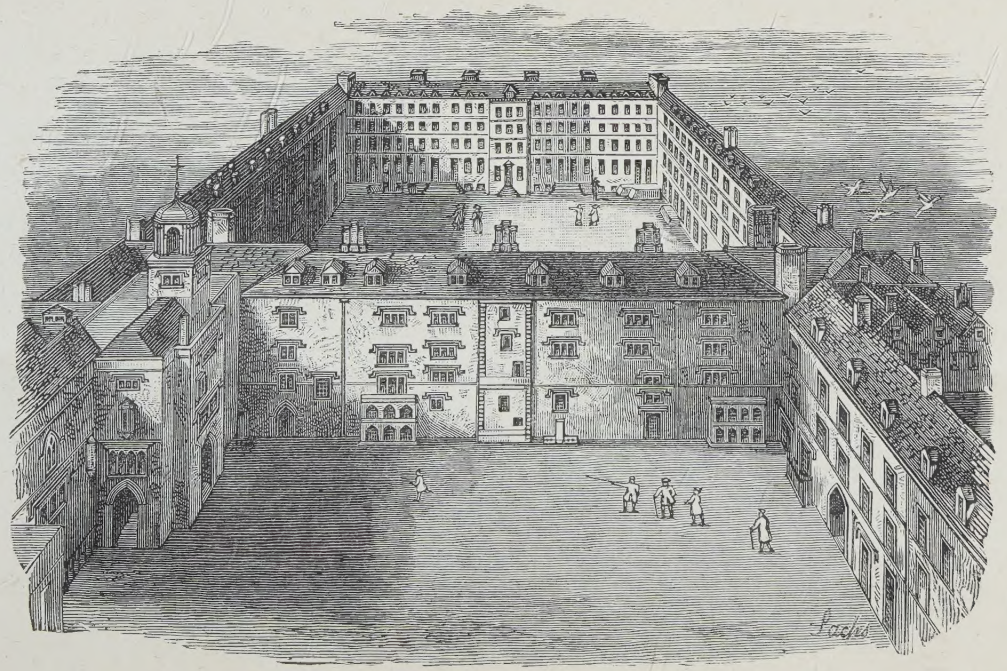

BRIDEWELL PALACE, PRISON, AND HOSPITAL, IN THE TUDOR PERIOD. THE BIRTHPLACE OF INDEPENDENCY AT THE REFORMATION.

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PREFACE

To the FOURTH EDITION.

The recent International Congregational Council, in London,* brought face to face men of like religious views and aspirations, from distant countries and from the English-speaking peoples, and resulted, without doubt, in mutual gratification and spiritual edification. It proved a stimulant and an encouragement to many, particularly when brethren from distant lands told of successful work done for God and humanity, the extent of which had not been fully appreciated—for instance, in Japan, in Scandinavia, in Madagascar, America, and Australia. It reminded the assembled brethren of the prediction of their Lord in relation to the advance of His kingdom, "Many shall come from the east and the west, and from the north and the south, and shall sit down in the kingdom of God" (Luke xiii. 29).

As I perused, however, the reports of addresses and the comments thereon in the press—religious and secular—a feeling of disappointment amounting to sadness came over me, because I saw that a grand opportunity had been missed, which, in some respects, may never return, for making our distant Congregational workers aware of their heroic ancestry, for removing false, confused, and misleading views respecting the origin of their principles, and for the supply of a life-long stimulus for labour and self-sacrifice, which heroic example of the very highest type can best afford.† It was with deep regret that I read, again and again, in organs which should have been better informed, of "Governor Bradford and his sturdy band of *Puritans*," and of John Robinson being "the *Father* of Independency." I refrain from specific quotation, as I should have to mention journals which are esteemed amongst us, *all* of which, so far as I

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* July 13–21, 1891.

† "To believe in the heroic makes heroes."—*Lord Beaconsfield.*

have read, fell into the same loose way of speaking of the *Genesis* of Independent or Congregational principles at the Reformation, and of the precursors and principles of the Pilgrim Fathers of New England. *Genesis* has, indeed, been confounded with *Exodus*, and our Congregational fathers and martyrs have been entirely ignored in the natural desire to do honour to our guests from across the Atlantic. It would be as reasonable and historical to treat Origen and Jerome as the founders of Christianity as to regard the Pilgrim Fathers as *Puritans*, or Brewster of Scrooby, or Robinson of Leyden, as the *founders* of Independency.

This is not a mere question of names and dates, or of English history: it is rather one of sacred principles, which have ever separated State Churches from the Free, ever since the Church established by law existed in this realm, and which separate them to this day.

The Pope of Rome was, by Act of Parliament, the head of the Church in England at the close of Mary's reign. On the accession of Elizabeth, in A.D. 1558, *she* was immediately declared head of the National Church. The very first Act of the Parliament was the "Act of Supremacy" (Act 1 Elizabeth, c. 1), the second was the "Act of Uniformity" (Act 1 Elizabeth, c. 2). It was sedition to question the Queen's spiritual supremacy; it was afterwards made felony. Non-conformity was absolutely *prohibited*, to Romanists and to Protestants alike. A cruel persecuting Romanism was superseded by an equally persecuting Protestantism; the only modification in that respect was that the State resorted to hanging, instead of burning at the stake the victims of Ecclesiasticism.

The "Articles of Religion" were adopted by Parliament in A.D. 1562, and the Church of England was then completely established by law, and continues so to this day.

The *Puritans* of that period, termed in history the *Early* Puritans, to distinguish them from those of a later date, who differed from them in many material respects, *remained within* the Church of England, recognizing the spiritual headship of the State, were content to attend the churches and to worship by the Book, although they desired some modifications in doctrine and ritual, which, however, they never obtained. They became from the first the bitter opponents of the *Separatists*,

who, at the same juncture, denied the headship of the Queen *in things spiritual*, declined to worship by Act of Parliament, to wear priestly vestments, and to take oaths. All this is made perfectly clear, by the discovery at the present day of *original* documents in the State-Paper Office and elsewhere, as is more fully set forth in the following Lecture.

The same sources have opened up to us the *early* history of Independency, Congregationalism, Free Churchism, or whatever we are pleased to term our Church principles to-day. They were termed *Separatism* at the period of the settlement of the Church of England in A.D. 1562, to emphasize the fundamental teaching, that the Kingdom of Christ was "not of this world," but *separate* from the control of the governing powers of the State. It is little less than criminal in those who regard that principle as of vital importance, to ignore the history of its earliest martyrs and confessors. That history has been disinterred during the last forty years, and we are deeply indebted to the late Dr. Waddington, Pastor of the ancient church worshipping in Southwark, and subsequently in the Pilgrim Fathers' Church in the Kent Road, for having devoted the closing years of his life to clearing up, both in England and America, the early history of our Congregationalism.

The confusion which has arisen between two very distinct religious parties, who took part in the early colonization of New England—the *Separatist* "Pilgrim Fathers" of New Plymouth, and the *Puritan* Fathers who subsequently colonized Massachusetts, has been occasioned by careless historians, many of whom had no access to the recently opened archives of "Harleian," "Lansdowne," and "State Paper Office MSS." This is particularly the case with MARSDEN in his "History of the Early Puritans," and SEWALL in his "History of the Friends." It is obvious that neither of these writers had access to original documents relating to the Pilgrim Fathers or their precursors. Miss METEYARD, in her "Hallowed Spots of Ancient London," and Mr. ANDERSON, in his "Memorable Women of Puritan Times," have adopted the statements of earlier writers. On the other hand, Mr. PALFREY, in his "History of New England" (Vol. I., p. 299), points out the mistakes of English writers on this subject. Mr. BARTLETT, in his work on the "Pilgrim Fathers," is tolerably

clear on the points in question. The late Dr. WADDINGTON, in his "Congregational Church History, from the Reformation to 1662" (p. 127), devotes a paragraph to the correction of mistakes on this head. Mr. BANCROFT, in his "American History," puts the facts into few and plain words (Vol. I., pp. 653-4), and the same may be said of Mr. KNOWLES, the biographer of Roger Williams —founder of the Rhode Island Colony (p. 39).

At page 49 of the following lecture, I allude to the correction of a mistaken inscription by the historians, Lords MACAULAY and STANHOPE, in the Peers' Corridor, bearing upon this subject. Mr. J. R. GREEN, the last historian of note, in his "Short History of the English People" (pp. 459, 460), writes, "The *Separatists* who were beginning to withdraw from attendance at public worship, *on the ground that the very existence of a National Church was contrary to the Word of God,* grew quickly from a few scattered zealots to 20,000 souls. Congregations of these Independents—or, as they were called at this time, Brownists—formed rapidly throughout England; and persecution on the part of the Bishops and the Presbyterians—*to both of whom their opinions were equally hateful*—drove flocks of refugees over the sea." He identifies some of these Separatists as the Pilgrim Fathers of the "Mayflower," but he is silent as to the martyrdom of the Separatist confessors during the preceding half century, 1567—1620.

The first martyrs for our principles were RICHARD FYTZ and THOMAS ROWLAND, the Pastor and Deacon, respectively, of the Church formed in the Bridewell,* in New Bridge Street, in the City of London; they died of the prison plague. They, with twenty-four men and seven women, had been, at the instance of the Privy Council, committed to prison by the Lord Mayor, on the 20th June, 1567, for worshiping in Plummers' Hall, this was just five years after the completion of the Church Establishment in 1562.†

Here is our *Genesis.* We know from original extant MSS., signed by Fytz himself, that his principles were ours of to-day;

* So called from the well or spring of St. Bride or Bridget adjoining. From this name is derived the generic term of Bridewell, now applied to places of criminal detention all the world over.

† This was antecedent to the first Presbyterian Church, secretly formed at Wandsworth, London, A.D. 1571.

that he was no State Church *Puritan*, but that he was faithful unto death for free worship. We know even the names of the members of the Bridewell Church who, having lost their Pastor, Deacon, and others, were released after a two years' incarceration. They held firmly to their principles in the face of unrelenting persecution. A document, signed by twenty-seven members of this church, alludes to those who "by long imprisonment *pined and killed* the Lord's servants, as our Minister FYTZ, THOMAS ROWLAND, Deacon, one PARTRIDGE, and GILES FOWLER, and besides them a great multitude, in the prisons in London, as the Gatehouse, Bridewell, the Counters, the King's Bench, the Marshalsea, and the White Lion." No public provision of food, fuel, or bedding was made for prisoners in those days; many, therefore, perished of cold, starvation, and disease.

The martyrs, FYTZ and ROWLAND, with others, were followed by JOHN COPPING, ELIAS THACKER, and WILLIAM DENNIS, in 1576. They were executed at Bury St. Edmunds for merely putting into circulation *Separatist* books. This was held to be constructive treason, and they suffered death accordingly. The Chief-Justice Wray, in an extant letter, says, that "above forty persons—ministers and others—were presented at that assize for *not observing the Book of Common Prayer, and for making conventicles.*"

In 1593, HENRY BARROWE and JOHN GREENWOOD, educated at Cambridge, who had founded a church secretly in Southwark, suffered death. The Attorney-General, whose speech is extant, charges them with the crime of "*claiming the right of a church to manage its own affairs.*" Three others were condemned; Daniel Studely to banishment (see p. 29), Scipio Bellot and Robert Boyle died in Newgate.

JOHN PENRY, M.A., born in Breconshire in 1559, in a home called the *Old Grove*, standing in 1866, was the next man of note called to wear the crown of martyrdom for his Independency. At Oxford he became a famous university preacher. His great desire was to promote the evangelization of his native country, Wales, and he was the first to attempt a translation of the Scriptures into Welsh. He took refuge from persecution in Scotland, but Elizabeth wrote a letter with her own hand, still extant, demanding his extradition. He entered London in September, 1592, and devoted himself to the interests of the persecuted

there, but in May following he was convicted of Separatism and executed close to the second milestone from London Bridge, in the Old Kent Road, on the 29th May, 1593.

Such is an exceedingly brief outline of the martyrdom of *some* of the earliest confessors of Independency. In the following Lecture I have also condensed the history, so far as known, of the *dispersion* of the *Separatist* Churches, and the determination of their leaders to seek on foreign shores that freedom of worship which was denied them at home. This may be described as our *Exodus*, resulting in the founding of Churches of English exiles, *all of them Separatists:* firstly, at Middleburgh, in Zealand, then at Amsterdam, and finally, at Leyden—thence at New Plymouth and Scituate, in the persons of the Pilgrim Fathers.

The Lecture was delivered in January, 1866, at the Friends' Institute, to vindicate the Christian character of those Pilgrim Fathers, when it had been ignorantly charged against them that they were *Puritans*, and that they *persecuted for conscience' sake*. I now reprint it, as I find, with extreme regret, that many who should be better informed respecting their own spiritual ancestry require to be reminded thereof.

The opportunity of furnishing that instruction *on the spot* was overlooked, until too late, at the recent International Congregational Council. The Bridewell in New Bridge Street (within sight of the Memorial Hall), the very site of the first Congregational Church, would have formed, of all places on the earth's surface, the most appropriate locality for an address on our principles and antecedents. That opportunity was missed, with all the impression which would have resulted. Nothing remains but this feeble effort to minimise the loss which has been sustained.

Congregationalists and other Free Churchmen cannot afford to be indifferent or ill-informed at this juncture. If the establishment of Protestantism be unscriptural, what shall we say to the establishment of mediæval Romanism? The old strife is upon us again. The Church of England is returning to the corruptions which she cast out three centuries since. The Altar has superseded the Table in the majority of the State Churches; the Sacrifice has usurped the place of the commemorative Supper; the Confessional, the Priest,

sacerdotal vestments, incense, the sign of the Cross, the elevation and adoration of the wafer are re-introduced; and now we have a judicial decision that Crucifixes and Images of the Virgin may be lawfully erected in churches of the Establishment. Even Mass, *eo nomine*, is announced in some National churches as part of the Service.

The Catholic—*i.e.*, Roman Catholic—revival is all but complete, and is sustained as the National religion by the power and patronage of the State, and the personal influence of *both* the heads of the political parties in the Legislature. To fight the battle which is inevitable, and in which the Free Churches will have to take part, it is indispensable that clear views of their principles and antecedents should be entertained.

It is this conviction which has induced this trifling effort; it should be followed by the republication of the works of the late Dr. Waddington—his "Congregational Martyrs," "Life of Penry the Pilgrim Martyr," and others, which I fear have been allowed to go out of print. Who will edit and republish such works as these?

B. S.

London, *September*, 1891.

THE BRIDEWELL.

The frontispiece represents the ancient Palace and Prison of the Bridewell, in the Tudor period, in which modern Congregationalism was born, A.D. 1567. Here Henry VIII. brought his wife, Katherine of Aragon, to trial, with a view to her divorce.

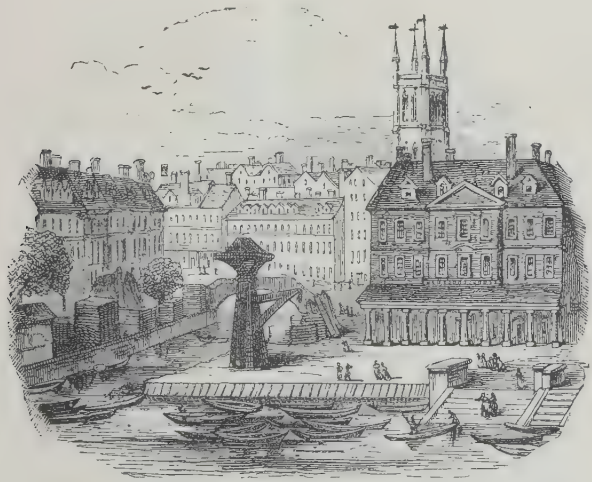
In the reign of Edward VI. it was made over by that monarch to the City of London, for reformatory and social amendment objects, which are still carried out in modified form by the Governors of Bridewell and Bethlehem, in whom vests the Prison, but the jurisdiction of commitment thereto has been greatly limited during the present century.

In the Stuart period a portion of the building was used as a granary for the storing and distribution of corn in times of

River Front of Bridewell, showing Corn Granaries, about A.D. 1660.

scarcity, which were frequent before the introduction of free trade. On page xii is a representation of the Thames front of the Bridewell, showing the granaries, *circa* 1660. The whole of the buildings were destroyed in the fire of London, A.D. 1666.

The following woodcut represents the Bridewell as it existed in A.D. 1749, and viewed from the Thames; the building on the left is the Prison, etc.



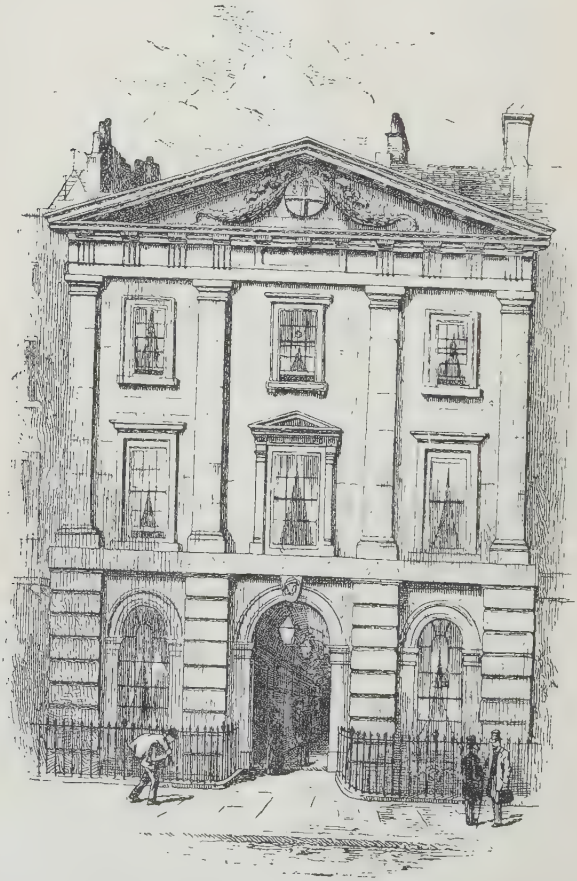
THE THAMES AND THE FLEET RIVER, A.D. 1749. THE BUILDING ON THE LEFT IS THE BRIDEWELL.

The Bridewell Prison and its appurtenances were again rebuilt at the close of the last century, when the Fleet river was closed in, Blackfriars Bridge was erected, and New Bridge Street was constructed. The front of the existing buildings is shown in the following woodcut, page xiv. The sculpture over the door represents the head of Edward VI.

The present building contains a spacious Hall or Board Room, and cells and Common Room for refractory apprentices; it is also the residence of the Treasurer of Bridewell—Major Copeland, F.S.A., author of "*Bridewell Royal Hospital: Past and Present*"; to whose courtesy I am indebted for the use of some of the woodcuts.

It may not be known to the Messrs. Spicer, who so generously entertained the Congregational Delegates, on the occasion of the recent Council, that their business premises stand upon part of the site of the historical Bridewell Palace and Prison, in which modern Congregationalism had its birth.

B. S.



Front View of the Present Bridewell Buildings. The Sculpture over the Entrance is a Head of Edward VI.

Lecture.

(*As delivered in* 1866.)

THE PILGRIM FATHERS

NEITHER PURITANS NOR PERSECUTORS.

Passing, many years since, from Threadneedle Street, in this City, to take the omnibus at the corner of Bishopsgate Street, my attention was arrested by a considerable crowd. I naturally enquired the cause of the assemblage, and was informed that a reckless cab-driver had inhumanly driven over a woman, who was seriously, if not fatally, injured; a second bystander thereupon interposed the remark that the man had *not* acted recklessly, but was driving carefully when the woman was run over; no sooner had he spoken than bystander number three asserted that he had seen the woman rush across the street under the very feet of the horse, that the man had not driven over her at all, but that he had, by his tact and admirable management of his horse, been instrumental in saving her life. Entering the conveyance by which I was about to travel I narrated the conflicting statements to which I had just listened, when a gentleman of venerable appearance remarked, with the calm confidence which betokens a settled conviction, "Such, young man, is the material of which history is composed."

This incident originated much thought at the time, but many years elapsed before reading, reflection, and experience of passing events induced me to adopt as my creed the remark I had listened to, and compels me to record my matured conviction that History, as it has been hitherto written, is generally little better than the conflicting testimony of mistaken or careless witnesses, the blundering compilation of half-informed writers, or the distorted caricature of prejudiced partizans. But will History ever continue untrue, unjust, and unreliable? I think not. I

have faith in truth and its ultimate triumph in every department. I believe in what has been termed "the Resurrection of Reputations" even in this world. Time, circumstances, and Providence work slowly but surely, and often wondrously, towards this end. As, in the case of the accident alluded to, the original evidence was conflicting and irreconcilable,—yet doubtless judicial sifting and cross-examination elicited ultimately the true facts, separated them from hearsay statement, and apportioned fairly the measure of merit or of blame,—so in respect of the World's History a process of reconstruction is going forward, based, in many cases, upon *original and unquestioned documents*, wonderfully and often unintentionally spared, to give their unimpeachable testimony in the new historic court of appeal.

Upon such evidence I shall have mainly to rely in my endeavour to do justice to men "of whom the world was not worthy," of whom Englishmen of all classes will one day be truly proud, and to whom Americans cannot be too grateful or too just.

My address, this evening, is a task imposed upon me by circumstances—a task which I should not voluntarily have assumed. It originated in the fact of my having listened lately to an eloquent lecture, delivered in this room, on Roger Williams, founder of the Rhode Island Colony. The lecturer on that occasion reiterated (unintentionally, of course) the statement, to which some recent writers have given currency, that Roger Williams had experienced persecution for religion's sake at the hands of the noble men known to history as the "Pilgrim Fathers." Admiring the lecture, venerating the character of Roger Williams, greatly respecting "the Friends," before whom and in whose Institute I sat, yet I felt that *truth* was more to be admired, venerated, and respected than aught else, and my spirit was stirred within me to claim a hearing on behalf of men whose reputations should be regarded as a sacred inheritance by all of every sect who value true and undefiled religion.

My request was, as I expected, readily granted by the members of the Friends' Institute, and although some of them may entertain opinions on this subject at variance with my own, yet I know too well their sacred *regard to truth* to doubt that they will rejoice to have afforded me this opportunity for explanation

even though it should result in their surrendering opinions hitherto entertained.*

It will not be my office to narrate the eventful history of the Pilgrim Fathers, that of Roger Williams, or indeed of their contemporaries in New England, excepting so far as incidental allusion to such histories may be necessary to the elucidation of my point. I shall find it convenient to obtain and make definite my object by supporting the following historical proposition:—

> "The Pilgrim Fathers were not PURITANS, but SEPARATISTS (who were the first advocates of perfect Freedom of Conscience at the Reformation)—they did not, as has been reported of them by some writers, persecute for conscience' sake either Roger Williams, the Friends, or any person."

In submitting my proofs I shall have occasion to encounter the statements of some recent writers of repute who have affirmed to the contrary; but I must ask my hearers to bear in mind that the testimony of these writers—as they were not contemporaries, and knew not the facts of their own knowledge—is not of more weight than the statement of the *first* of them, with whom may have originated the mis-statement, which careless authors have merely reproduced. The same remark applies equally to those more eminent historians who have written on the other side. I shall call no such witnesses to-night. They are, in truth, the parties on their trial, and must stand or fall by the evidence of *original documents*. The reiteration of a statement can never alter the relations of falsehood and truth. Truth and error must continue truth and error eternally, even though the reverse be asserted eternally. To enumerate the testimony of successive writers, therefore, is vain upon such a point as that before us, unless any such had access to original documents newly brought to light; I shall not array, therefore, the testimony of conflicting

* No adverse opinions were expressed at the close of this lecture; a vote of thanks was unanimously passed; the lecture was printed by the Friends' publisher, and after twenty-five years, no adverse criticism has taken place; while I have been honoured by membership of more than one Historical Society in America. The late JOHN BRIGHT, M.P., in a letter addressed to me in 1867, respecting the Lecture, says, "If it were not for the Free Churches, I know not what shadow of freedom there would be at this hour amongst us."

historians—although the balance would decidedly preponderate on the side of the question which I espouse, whether those writers be tested by their numbers or by their reputation.

I propose first to show that the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth Colony—the only persons to whom that term has been historically applied, the first successful Anglo-Saxon colonists of America, and the real founders of New England—were not *Puritans*, as is often carelessly and erroneously reported, but *Separatists*.

The difference between the EARLY PURITANS and the SEPARATISTS was not one of name merely, or I should not be found directing attention to the confusion which prevails in some minds on this subject. That difference was not superficial, but wide, fundamental and irreconcilable. It involved nothing less than the whole question of *enforced* or *free* religion,—of religion by act of the State, or freedom of conscience,—of religion as an act of obedience to the ruler, or as an act of conscience towards God,—the difference, in truth, which separated and still separates the *State* Churches from the *Free* all the world over. It involved in the days of the Pilgrim Fathers the difference between the dominant and persecuting Church which wielded the sword of the State and the persecuted victims of that sword. To confound things which so differ, to treat as one the persecutor and the persecuted, is to put "darkness for light, and light for darkness; bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter," must result in making history an unmeaning jumble. So to confound persons and parties is in this case to inflict injustice upon the memories of those who have been shaping the good of the present, and whose principles form the best hope of the world's future. It has been asked, "Did the Pilgrim Fathers repudiate the term *Puritan* as applied to themselves?" I reply they were not and could not, at that day, have been afforded the opportunity of repudiation; no such confusion of terms could then have arisen. Their enemies were too vigilant and unrelenting, and they and their predecessors were too truthful to permit of their shielding themselves under the term of *Puritan*. I shall show you that the difference between the two parties in question was considered so fundamental and irreconcilable that the one party persecuted the other for their diversity of sentiment, until the persecuted party fled to the New World to secure that freedom of worship which was forbidden in the Old.

It will be necessary to the full elucidation of this point to show who were the immediate religious *precursors* of the Pilgrim Fathers, and for this purpose it will be convenient to recur to that period of the Reformation in England when the Church of England was completely and finally established by Law.

The spiritual supremacy of the King, established and enforced by the Eighth Henry, had been reversed in Mary's reign, when the Pope was once more declared by Act of Parliament to be the spiritual head of the Church in England. It is to Elizabeth's reign, therefore, that we must look for the final settlement of the ecclesiastical Establishment, which from and since that reign has been in close connection with the State in England. There is an earlier history of both *State* and *Free* religion, and of the struggles of Presbyterianism in Scotland, but my argument lies to-night in connection with the reformation of religion in England, and the most convenient starting-point, for many reasons, is that which I propose.

Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne in November, 1558, and in the following month issued a proclamation forbidding any change of the forms of religion *until they should be determined according to Law*. Immunity from Papal persecution was obtained by the change of rulers, but no freedom to worship according to conscience, either as it regarded Roman Catholics or Protestants. This is a point too much overlooked, and hence much confusion as to religious parties formed at this juncture. The Queen was a good friend to Protestantism as opposed to Popery, but the bitter opponent of all Protestantism which did not square with her own and that of the State. The Act of Supremacy, declaring her the head of the Church, passed in the *first* year of her reign, followed closely by the Act of Uniformity, requiring all to worship on the State pattern and in the Parish Churches. Early in 1562 the work was completed by the adoption of the Articles of Religion; and from that date, the Church of England being completely established by Law, we may conveniently trace that "*Separation*" which, with more or less distinctness, can be found through all subsequent English History, and never more so than at the present day.

Side by side with the records of a powerful State Establish-

ment we find the frequent, though incidental, mention of a band of humble, earnest "SEPARATISTS," as they were termed, protesting against errors which the Reformation in England had failed to remove,—*against the assumption by any human power, however august, of that headship which belonged of right to Christ, and pleading for permission to worship according to the simplicity of form and practice of the primitive Christians.*

Such were the *Separatists,* at that day, undivided on the subject of baptism and other questions which have given rise to sects having various names. They constituted, with the Roman Catholics, the only persons then objecting in England to the Church as by Law established. They formed themselves, as did the early disciples, into distinct associations or churches, chose their own teachers and regulated their own affairs. The *Church,* they maintained, was a spiritual association, and should consequently be *separate* from the *world* and its *rulers,* and should be governed only by the laws of Christ as given in the New Testament; hence their distinctive appellation. Their simplicity of sentiments and moral conduct rendered them unpopular in a corrupt age; their opposition to an endowed Church made them obnoxious to the clergy, who held to the wealth and honours of the State; their recognition of Christ as the sole Head of the Church gave mortal offence to the ruling powers, and afforded opportunity for charges of disloyalty and sedition, and, later, of treason, and directed against them the persecuting power of an intolerant Court and hierarchy. In a word, they were the "Nazarenes" of the English Reformation—were regarded "as the filth and off-scourings of all things." They worshipped only in secret places,—in ships moored in the River Thames,—in obscure corners in the City, in the woods and fields which surrounded London and some other towns. We should know little concerning them but for the *depositions of their relentless enemies, and the noble defences of their principles which persecution called forth, and but for the providential preservation of such documents by their opponents.* They dwelt almost alone, and were scarcely regarded as part of the nation.

Of course, a term of reproach for the party was soon forthcoming. The occasion was furnished by one ROBERT BROWN, who, having ably advocated their principles, proved unfaithful to

them, having accepted a living in Northamptonshire, and the headmastership of a grammar school. This conduct of Brown caused to adhere to them the term of "*Brownists*," by which they were long known in history.*

Now for the other party which arose at this juncture. The English Reformers, many of whom returned from exile on the accession of Elizabeth, were greatly disappointed to find the new Establishment virtually settled, and that the principles of the Reformation had not been carried further in its constitution.† The greater part of them, however, accepted the change, and with it the *Royal Supremacy, Uniformity of Worship, the Priesthood of the Clergy, and the Articles of Religion.* Some took this course for the sake of peace and unity, others from less worthy motives; all of them, however, hoping to effect, in due time, further reformation—a hope which was never to be gratified. This reforming or evangelical party *within* the Establishment were termed "*Puritans*," and are known in history as the "EARLY *Puritans*," to distinguish them from a party which existed later in history, particularly at and after the period of the Commonwealth.

We have thus the origin of two parties formed at the very birth of the Church of England,—parties differing widely both in principles and practice; the *Early Puritans* within the Establishment, and the *Separatists* or Brownists outside of that organization, declining to recognize the *spiritual* claims of the English Sovereign, and contending for the exclusively spiritual character of His Church, who affirmed, as the fundamental principle of church government, "My kingdom is not of this world."

The clearest historical evidence of the existence and organization of the Separatists may be found from the very period of the State Church Establishment, which, as we have shown, was completely and finally effected in 1562. Five years later we have a distinct historical notice of a company of Christians meeting at Plummer's Hall, in Laurence Pountney Lane, in this City.‡ So rigidly was

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* *Vide* Lansd. MSS. xxxiii., art. 13, 20; also Min. Book of St. Olave's Grammar School. † Zurich Letters.

‡ A parte of a Register, 23—37, in Dr. Williams' library.

private worship prohibited that the meeting was held under pretext of a wedding celebration. They were brought, by direction of the Privy Council, before the Lord Mayor, and on the 20th of June, 1567, committed to the BRIDEWELL, on the banks of the Fleet River,—a prison still existing in New Bridge Street, Blackfriars (see preface); and it may interest you to know that the humble individual who addresses you is the only official person whose jurisdiction of committal there has been continued to this day. Truly the lines have fallen to us in happier and safer times and places. Had *we* met for our present purpose in those days, we should doubtless have been haled to prison for so doing; and while we do justice to those who by their faithful testimony and their blood won for us religious freedom, let us recollect that it is *only thirty-nine years since* it became possible for you, my hearers, being most of you advocates of Separatist principles, or for him who now addresses you, being also of that conviction, to have held *any office or place of trust, however humble,* either in the service of the State or of this City. (This was written in 1866.)

Gathered in the prison around the New Testament, which the Reformation had placed in their hands, this little band spelled out, by the aid of the Holy Spirit's teaching, *the spirituality of the true Church, its independence of the powers of the world, and its consequent right to self-government, subject to the laws of Christ.* They accordingly formed themselves, in the prison, into a *separate* church of believers on the New Testament model, selecting their pastor and officers. The original document, with the names of all the parties appended, has been recently found in the State Paper Office.* Here is the fountain-head of what was afterwards termed Independency, and later still, Congregationalism. Here was the *Genesis* of the free churches; fifty-three years later was their *Exodus.* RICHARD FITZ, or FYTZ, Pastor, ROWLAND, a deacon, and several of the members died of the prison plague; but though deprived of their leaders they continued to meet in private houses after a two years' confinement. They were not, however, permitted to worship in peace. A letter of thanks was addressed by the Privy Council to the Bishop of

* Uncalendered, in Misc. Facsic. State Paper Office.

London, in 1574, for his zeal in "discovering their conventicles."* Next in order of date we meet with Robert Brown, to whom we have already alluded as unfaithful to his principles.

Robert Harrison, a friend and companion of Brown, with courage and fidelity grasped the banner which Brown threw away, until the Act of the 23rd Elizabeth (1582) made it *treason* to worship, except in accordance with the form prescribed by Law. Upon this Harrison escaped to Middleburg, in Zealand, and became pastor there of a church of refugees from Protestant bigotry in high places. Brown had written several books on the true nature of the Church and its proper relation to the State, and Harrison wrote also a treatise on true Church government, which is still extant.† These works helped to spread Separatist principles, and soon brought to the scaffold those who were found circulating them. In rural places the Separatists continued to convene in the name of the Lord Jesus. Dr. Freke complained "that their meetings" in Norfolk "were held in such close and secret manner" that he found it impossible to suppress them.‡ He apprehended, however, two of their leaders, John Copping and Elias Thacker, in 1576, and kept them some years in prison. They were at last brought to trial, and convicted of the capital offence of circulating Separatist books. Sir Christopher Wray, Lord Chief Justice, wrote "that they were condemned to die, and were to be executed immediately, *not waiting for the possibility of a reprieve.*"§ These martyrs died at Bury St. Edmunds, acknowledging the civil supremacy of the Queen, but maintaining that in *spiritual* matters they owed allegiance to "another King, one Jesus." William Dennis, "a godly man," so says the record, was executed shortly afterwards, in Norfolk, for the same offence.‖

By these severities the feeble light was almost extinguished, and had it been of human origin, it must have gone out in darkness. "The Church," says Leighton, "hath sometimes been brought to so obscure and low a point that you can follow her in history only by the track of her blood." It was so here, but an ever-watchful Providence raised up two earnest men, fellow-

* Register of the Privy Council, 1574.
† 16mo, 1583. In Brit. Mus
‡ Lansd. MSS. xxxiii., art. 13.
§ Ibid. art. 64, p. 163.
‖ Ibid. xxxviii., art. 64.

students of Cambridge, to maintain the holy and undying principles for which Fytz and the martyrs of Bury St. Edmunds had laid down their lives: I refer to JOHN GREENWOOD and HENRY BARROWE, who associated themselves with the scattered Separatists when their cause was at the lowest ebb and apparently hopeless.

GREENWOOD, who had been private chaplain to a gentleman of fortune,* was surprised one Lord's Day morning in 1586, while reading the Scriptures at a private house in the parish of St. Andrew by the Wardrobe, in this City, and committed to prison. Two of his auditors were from Norfolk.† BARROWE was also from Norfolk, and connected with an aristocratic family there. He had entered as a law student at Gray's Inn. On Lord's Day morning, November 19th, 1586, he, unsuspecting danger, went to visit his friend Greenwood and others imprisoned in the "*Clink*," a prison in the grounds of the Bishop of Winchester, in Southwark, his object being to show compassion "to those in bonds as bound with them." No sooner, however, had he arrived, than the jail-keeper detained him, saying he had orders from the Archbishop to do so.‡ Henceforward Greenwood and Barrowe remained in bonds, true to each other, and steadfast in the cause they had espoused. Here the persecutors, as ever, outwitted themselves; for the brethren, although in the society of felons, and surrounded by all that was loathsome and pestilential, contrived to write in confirmation of the truths for which they suffered. Dropping their scraps of MS. into the jug from which they drank, these were conveyed day by day, by "Cicely," a faithful handmaid of Mrs. Greenwood, to a trusty friend, who sent them to Dort, in Holland, where they were printed and conveyed to the Separatist brethren.§ Thus the Bible and the printing press supplied the place of the oral teaching which the State had suppressed.

Six years later we find that the prisoners, having obtained liberty to go out during the day, a church was duly organised in Southwark, at the house of Roger Ripon.‖ Of this little company JOHN GREENWOOD was appointed teacher. In connection with this church we find another remarkable man, FRANCIS

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* Lansd. MSS. cix., art. 3. † State Papers, Domestic.
‡ Harleian Miscel. orig. edit. 4to, vol. iv., p. 326.
§ Egerton Papers, Camden Society. ‖ Harl. MSS. 6848, art. 3

JOHNSON. Originally a Puritan clergyman of good repute, he was, under peculiar circumstances, induced to throw in his lot with the Separatists. The circumstances were these. Having, while a Puritan, discovered at a printer's in Holland a copy of the book written in the *Clink* by Barrowe and Greenwood, he reported the same without delay to the English ambassador, and he was charged to destroy the whole edition. (We have here incidental evidence of the hostility of the Puritan to the Separatist, for which we contend.) Johnson seized the books and burned the whole, with the exception of two copies, one of which, prompted by curiosity, he perused. It was the means of convincing him, and he embraced the faith he had laboured to destroy.* Returning from Holland we find him associating with Barrowe and Greenwood; he was elected a coadjutor of the latter, as pastor of the infant church in Southwark, and was imprisoned in the *Clink* for many years.†

We find, at this period, the Puritan clergy of this City, under the orders of the Bishop of London, employed discreditably as spies. Imitating exactly the Chief Priests in their treatment of our Lord: "And they watched Him, and sent forth spies, which should feign themselves just men, that they might take hold of His words, so that they might deliver Him unto the power of the governor" (Luke xx. 20). They visited the Separatist prisoners once every month, apparently for conference, but noting down their conversations, that in the event of their being brought to trial these clerical inquisitors might be sworn.‡ The evidence so obtained amounted to nothing more than a declaration of their views as to the character and rights of the Church, but was deemed sufficient to secure their conviction. Barrowe and Greenwood were thus brought to trial, charged with having written books to *lessen the Queen's prerogative in matters spiritual*, and the speech of counsel, which is still extant, charges them with *claiming the right of a church to manage its own affairs*. On the 23rd of March, 1592, they were condemned to die. The Attorney-General followed them to their cells, entreating them to save their lives by recantation, but in vain.§ The next morning they were brought out for

* Young's Chron., pp. 424, 5.

† See his Letters to Lord Burleigh, Lansd. MSS. lxxv., art. 25, and lxxvii., art. 26.

‡ Bancroft's Survey. Hist. Papers, chap. vii.

§ Harl. MSS. 6849, art. 35.

execution and bound to the cart, but a reprieve stayed their execution. After a week's interval they were again taken to execution, when a second reprieve arrived, and they returned again to prison, "amidst," as we are told, "the applause and rejoicing of the people." This manifestation of popular sympathy was fatal; their enemies became alarmed, and hurried their execution, which took place at Tyburn, early in the morning of the 6th of April, 1593.

One extract, out of many which we might quote, from an extant letter of Barrowe's, proves that it was simple liberty of conscience which these men claimed, and for which their lives were sacrificed. "Deal tenderly," he writes, "with tender consciences; we are yet persuaded that we should show ourselves disobedient and unthankful to our Master except we hold fast this cause.——Why should our adversaries wish to persuade the civil magistrates to deal with us by the *sword* and not by the *Word*, by *prisons* and not by *persuasions?* As for dungeons, irons, close prison, torment, hunger, cold, want of means to maintain families,—these *may* cause some to make shipwreck of a good conscience, or to lose their life; *but they are not fit ways to persuade honest men to any truth or dissuade them from errors.*"

John Penry, another remarkable man, educated at Oxford, joined the party just before the execution of Barrowe and Greenwood. He was by birth a Welshman. The great desire of his life was to introduce the Gospel to his fellow-countrymen, and he was the *first to translate a portion of the Scriptures into Welsh.* Disappointed in his efforts, he was led to examine the causes which hindered the spread of the Gospel, and finding it to consist mainly in the ignorance and indifference of the State clergy, he expressed his opinions as to the evils of the Established System with honesty and fervidness. This naturally aroused persecution, and he was brought before Archbishop Whitgift, and charged with *heresy* in having written—"That men, by whomsoever ordained—whatever prelate, or bishop, or presbyter's hand had been upon them—who *did not do the work of an evangelist, but neglected to preach God's Word to the people,* were no true ministers of Jesus Christ." Penry replied, "If it is heresy, I thank God that He has taught it me from His Word." "I say," exclaimed the exasperated prelate, "it is heresy, and thou shalt recant it." "*Never!*" rejoined the intrepid Welshman, "Never,

God willing, so long as I live." He was liberated, however, but took again to preaching the Gospel so dear to his heart. A warrant was issued accordingly, and he fled to Scotland with his wife and four infant children. *Queen Elizabeth followed him with an autograph letter to the Scotch King insisting upon his extradition.*

Proclamation was issued accordingly, in August, 1590, for his apprehension, and *death* denounced against any who should *afford him food or shelter.* With a price on his head, this intrepid evangelist travelled from Scotland to London, and cast in his lot with the poor Separatists of Southwark.* He was soon discovered, however, and cast into prison; first in this City, and afterwards into the Queen's Bench in Southwark.

Being subjected to the inquisitorial ordeal of spies, a private diary of his was found, and for some expression therein on the Queen's supremacy, construed as disloyal, he was condemned to die for imputed *treason,* in May, 1593. Letters written by him shortly before his death are extant, which for true pathos, tender affection to his wife and four infant children, and for resolute determination to lay down his life for the truth, are I believe without their equal in the annals of Martyrology. One extract must suffice. Being pressed to save his life by recantation, he replied, "*If my blood were an ocean sea, and every drop thereof were a life unto me, I would give them all for the maintenance of this my confession. Far be it from me that either the saving of an earthly life, the regard which I ought to have to the desolate outward state of a friendless widow and four poor fatherless children, or any other thing, should enforce me by denial of God's truth to perjure mine own soul.*"† And he would not and did not accept deliverance. Orders were sent immediately to the Sheriff, who proceeded the very same day to hang him at a place called St. Thomas-a-Watering, about two miles from London Bridge on the Kent Road.‡ While Penry was at his dinner the officers came to make him ready, and at the unusual and unexpected hour of four the same afternoon he was put to death by

* State Papers, Scotland. † Penry's "Protestation." Lands. MSS.

‡ Near to the site of the present Pilgrim Fathers' Church, in the Kent Road.

hanging, the Sheriff preventing his uttering a few words which he desired to address to the people. The place of his burial is unknown; but

> "Though nameless, trampled and forgot
> His servant's humble ashes lie—
> Yet God has marked and sealed the spot,
> To call its inmate to the sky."

I have thus traced the party of the Separatists, reproachfully termed "Brownists," for a period of thirty-one years, from the date of the complete establishment of the Church of England, in 1562, to the death of Penry in 1593. This has been essential to my argument, for it is by these preliminary investigations that we ascertain what were the particular principles of the party to which the PILGRIM FATHERS belonged. I now set out to prove that the exiles who left Leyden and the shores of England in 1620, and whom *all writers* are agreed in terming "the Pilgrim Fathers," were *Separatists*, and were, moreover, the direct ecclesiastical successors of the noble men, whose acts, principles and suffering have been very briefly narrated.

The idea of exchanging persecution and death in England for exile to some foreign shore originated with the martyrs BARROWE and PENRY. The former, in 1592, bequeathed a fund to aid the persecuted church "*in the event of their emigration*," while Penry, in his last letter, urged "the brethren to prepare for *banishment in an unbroken company*." The term emigration, as it is now understood, does not convey an adequate idea of the alternative to which this persecuted people were reduced. England at that date had neither colony nor permanent settlement on the American Coast. Emigration was then, in fact, expulsion beyond the limits of civilization, and involved not only danger and suffering to all, but inevitable death to a large proportion of the settlers. This was so much the case that up to the time of the exile of the Pilgrim Fathers no American colony had succeeded, though many had been attempted.

FRANCIS JOHNSON, already referred to as associated with BARROWE and GREENWOOD, was the first to put exile to the test. Papers lately discovered bring all the circumstances to light. He memorialized Lord Burleigh on behalf of the church in Southwark in 1593, shortly after Penry's martrydom. No opportunity

offered, however, till 1597, and in the interval many found their way to Holland, where toleration prevailed. In the latter year we find "the Brownists, falsely so called," petitioning under that name the Privy Council to be allowed to go to Canada.* From the register of the Privy Council it appears that permission was given, but restricted to the Island of Ranea. The voyage proved unavailing, for the poor Pilgrims in the ships "Chancewell" and "Hopewell" were not suffered to land.† Some also went to Newfoundland, a fishing station during part of the year only, but these returned also greatly disheartened and impoverished, and, denied a resting-place in England, they also found a home in Holland.‡

JOHNSON there became their pastor, and DANIEL STUDELY, Elder of the church in Southwark, condemned to banishment (see p. ix.), but afterwards reprieved, joined the same Christian Society. They prepared a confession of their faith, and sent copies to the leading universities of Europe.§ Here we have the first links in the chain of evidence which identify the Separatists of Southwark with the exiles in Holland.

JOHN SMYTH, a Fellow of Cambridge and a pupil of Francis Johnson, adopted his views, and forms another link in our chain. He was imprisoned in the Marshalsea, and had conference, we are told, with two eminent Puritan divines, Mr. Dod and Mr. Hildersham, who, however, failed to convince him.‖ (You will notice again the divergence of the views of the Separatists and Puritans.) Being liberated on the ground of failing health, he retired to Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, founded a Separatist church there, and became its pastor. A second or branch church of the same faith was also established, meeting in the Manor House of WILLIAM BREWSTER, at Scrooby, a village in Nottinghamshire, on the borders of Yorkshire. The church at Scrooby was under the care of RICHARD CLYFTON, a Puritan clergyman, who had joined the Separatist party, relinquishing his living at Worksop.¶ Clyfton afterwards retired to Holland, affording another

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* State Papers, Domestic Series. † Hakluyt. ‡ Bradford's Dialogues.

§ "The Confession of Fayth of certayn English People in Exile in the Low Countreyes," 1598.

‖ "Paralleles, Censures and Observations," 1603.

¶ Hunter's "Founders of New Plymouth," p. 40. Smyth's "Parallels."

link in the connection we are tracing out. He was succeeded as pastor of the church at Scrooby by JOHN ROBINSON, M.A. This Robinson was afterwards pastor of the church at Leyden, and organized the departure of the Pilgrims from that place to their home in the New World. WILLIAM BREWSTER, at whose house the church met at Scrooby, was also one of the exiles termed Pilgrim Fathers, and filled subsequently the office of Elder amongst them. While pastor at Scrooby, ROBINSON received into the little Society there a youth named WILLIAM BRADFORD, who also went out as one of the Pilgrim Fathers, became Governor, in course of time, of the Plymouth Colony in New England, and the historian of the Pilgrims, whose MS. Volume, discovered in the Bishop's Library at Fulham, has established and cleared up many of the facts stated in this address.* We have thus three of the leaders of the Pilgrims,—Pastor Robinson, Elder Brewster, and Governor Bradford,—connected with the Separatist Church at Scrooby, the branch of that founded at Gainsborough by John Smyth, of Southwark. That all these men were Separatists from conviction appears from their works and letters still extant. Robinson particularly speaks of the painful struggles which he experienced in breaking on religious matters from his friends of the Puritan party.†

One more connecting link between the Separatists of Southwark and the exiles in Holland must be pointed out before we accompany the Pilgrims across the Atlantic. Johnson, of whom we have spoken, when in prison, was visited by HENRY JACOB, a Puritan clergyman in Kent, who hoped to convince Johnson of his errors, but who was himself convinced of his erroneous views by the Separatist prisoner. Jacob hoped, with other sanguine men, to obtain, on the accession of James I., permission to practise his religion according to the light of conscience.‡ But he was soon undeceived; Elizabeth was dead, but the system survived. Being so unwise as to wait upon the Bishop to "argue and reason the matter," as he tells us, he soon found that it was not a matter either for reason or argument, for the Bishop laid hold of him then and there and committed him to the *Clink*. This was in 1605.§

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* "Of Plimoth Plantation." Fulham, MSS.

† Robinson's Works, vol. ii., pp. 51, 52.

‡ "Reasons, &c.," Pref., p. 2.

§ Lambeth MSS.

Bancroft had now succeeded to the Primacy, and the Puritans *within*, as well as the Separatists *without*, the Establishment began to feel the weight of his persecuting hand. In 1604 excommunication, with all its attendant penalties, were added to the pains attending nonconformity. Three hundred of the clergy were in one year deprived of their livings. Chamberlain, referring to this period, says, "Our *Puritans* go down on all sides, and though our new Bishop of London proceeds but slowly, yet he hath deprived, silenced or suspended all that continue disobedient."* I quote this as particularly defining the term "Puritan" as applied at this date to the *nonconforming clergy* within the Church of England.

Persecution was not relaxed against the Separatists. Bradford, in his journal, informs us how the members of the churches in the North were watched by informers day and night, imprisoned, and prevented assembling. "Seeing," he tells us, "themselves thus molested, and that there was no hope of their continuance there, by a joint consent they resolved to go into the Low Countries, where they heard there was freedom of religion for all men, as also *sundry from London* and other parts of the land that had been exiled and persecuted for the same cause were gone thither, and lived in Amsterdam and other places in that land."†

I must pass over the difficulties, trials and sufferings of these poor people, their oft-attempted escape and failures. It was more than a twelvemonth before the whole party, with women and children, could elude the cruel vigilance of their enemies. They escaped, from time to time as opportunity offered, from the coast near to the ports of Boston, Grimsby and Hull. Robinson and Brewster, we are told, "were of the last, and stayed to help the weakest over before them."‡

Twelve years they spent in Amsterdam and Leyden, not without struggles for maintenance, but enjoying peace in the exercise of their religion, to which they had long been strangers. Robinson became their Pastor, Brewster was appointed Elder, while

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* Letter dated Feb. 26, 1605.

† "Of Plimoth Plantation." Fulham MSS. ‡ Ibid.

Henry Jacob, having been liberated from the *Clink*, joined them, and wrote a treatise on Church Government, which again proves incontestably that he, with his associates, were decided and uncompromising Separatists. Time does not admit of my quoting him.

In 1617 we find him again in Southwark, seeking permission for the Church there to worship only *privately*, and "not in *public places*," but in vain. The churches in Holland and in Southwark abandoned all hope of toleration at home, and began in earnest to address their thoughts to emigration to some land in which their children would retain their language and nationality, with liberty of Christian worship. Negociations were opened with certain "merchant adventurers" in London who held chartered grants from the Crown of portions of the New Continent: after many difficulties and protracted delays, with many escapes of imprisonment, the terms were settled, and it was arranged that all who were ready should go out under the leadership of Elder Brewster, while Robinson should follow with the remainder of the party at a future day.

The negociations begun in 1617 did not conclude till 1620. It is no part of my purpose to-night to narrate the history so well known and often written of their eventful voyage. Suffice it to say that a vessel of sixty tons—the "Speedwell"—(not the "Mayflower," as has been too often carelessly asserted)—was purchased in Holland upon receipt of the intelligence that all was ready at London. The Church then, we are told, "held a solemn meeting and day of humiliation to seek the Lord for His direction." Robinson took for his text 1 Samuel xxiii. 3, 4—"And David's men said unto him, See, we be afraid here in Judah, how much more, then, if we come to Keilah," &c. When the ship was ready they had another day of solemn humiliation, their pastor speaking to them from Ezra viii. 21—"And there at the River by Ahava I proclaimed a fast, that we might humble ourselves before our God, and seek of Him a right way for us and for our children and for all our substance." "The time being come to depart," Bradford tells us, "they were accompanied by most of their brethren to a town sundry miles off, called Delft Haven, where the 'Speedwell' lay ready to receive them. So they left that goodly and pleasant land at Leyden, which had been to them their resting-place twelve years, *but they knew that they were* Pilgrims, and looked not much on those things, but lifted up

their eyes to the heavens, *their dearest country*, and quieted their spirits." (See *fac-simile* of extract from *Bradford's "Plimoth Plantation."*)

The "Speedwell" arrived safely at Southampton, where it fell in with the "Mayflower" with the party from London (Southwark), and both vessels put into Plymouth. The "Speedwell" was here found to be unseaworthy, and the whole party of 101 Pilgrims, with the crew, sailed on the 6th of September in the "Mayflower," a vessel of 180 tons burden.

On the 9th November, 1620,—while the Lord Mayor of this City was entertaining his guests at his inaugural banquet, while the wounded were being cared for and the dead buried who had been slain in the battle of Prague,—this little, solitary, adventurous vessel on its peaceful errand, freighted with the seed of a future nation, unheeded by human eye, but not unregarded by Him who "sees the end from the beginning," sighted Cape Cod, on the coast of Massachusetts, a shore covered with snow and formidable with shoals and breakers. On the 11th November the Constitution of the future Colony was signed by all the party in the cabin of the "Mayflower." On the 15th the vessel found safe anchorage in Plymouth Bay, so named from the port of departure in England. On the 20th of December (Forefathers' Day of the Americans) the wearied, storm-tossed party found rest, landing on the well-known Plymouth Rock. "The door-step into a world unknown,—the CORNER STONE OF A NATION."

"The breaking waves dashed high
On a stern and rock-bound coast;
And the woods, against a stormy sky,
Their giant branches tost.
And the heavy night hung dark,
The hills and waters o'er;
When a band of exiles moored their bark
On the wild New England shore.

"Not as the conqueror comes,
They, the true-hearted, came;
Not with the stirring roll of drums,
And the trumpet that sings of fame.
Not as the flying come,
In silence and in fear;
They shook the depths of the desert gloom
With their hymns of lofty cheer.

"Amid the storm they sang,
And the stars heard, and the sea;
And the sounding aisle of the dim woods rang
With the anthem of the free.
The ocean eagle soared
From his nest by the white waves' foam,
And the rocking pines of the forest roared—
This was their welcome home.

"There were men with hoary hair
Amid that pilgrim band;
Why had they come to wither there,
Away from their childhood's land?
There was woman's fearless eye,
Lit by her deep love's truth;
There was manhood's brow serenely high,
And the fiery heart of youth.

"What sought they thus afar?
Bright jewels, or the mine?
The wealth of seas, the spoils of war?—
They sought a faith's pure shrine!
Ay, call it holy ground,
The soil where first they trod:
They left unstained what there they found—
FREEDOM TO WORSHIP GOD!"*

But did they, as the Poetess sings, "Leave unstained what there they found—Freedom to worship God"? This is the question to be next determined, and as poets,† as well as historians, make sad havoc of facts, I proceed to prove, by the light of original and extant documents, that the Pilgrim Fathers remained faithful to their principles.

But first allow me to digress, briefly to allude to a remarkable letter from JOHN SMYTH, addressed to the Church at Scrooby, of which he was pastor. In it he speaks words which, by the light of subsequent events, we may almost regard as prophetic. "You are few in number," he writes, "yet, considering that the Kingdom of Heaven is as a grain of mustard seed, small in the beginning, I do not doubt that you may in time *grow up to a multitude,* and be, as it were, a great tree full of fruitful branches."‡

* Mrs. Hemans.

† Longfellow, in his poem of "Miles Standish," calls Priscilla the *Puritan* maiden.

‡ "A lettre written to certain bretheren in S——, by John Smyth."

The fact is sublime, and calculated to attract the attention of the world *some day*, that a few poor, persecuted and humble worshippers in London and at Scrooby, who would have gone to their graves in silent obscurity had not persecution driven them into unconscious fame,—that three of them, at least, Robinson, Brewster and Bradford, became *the founders of a nation of thirty millions of free worshippers.* (Now, 1891, over sixty-two millions.) The United States of America may well be termed a "great tree full of fruitful branches;" truly the little one has become a thousand, and the small one a *strong nation.*

And here, let me say, my American hearers, who have honoured me by your attendance to-night, here is the fountain-head, or one chief fountain-head, of all your greatness. This remote hamlet of Nottinghamshire, adjacent to the borders of Yorkshire, which now echoes to the whistle of the Great Northern Railway,—here, in the Old Manor House of Scrooby (the outline of whose moat may still be seen from the platform of the station), this ancient hunting-seat of the Archbishop of York, the resting-place of Queen Margaret of Scotland, daughter of Henry VII., on her journey to Scotland in 1503,—here, where disappointed Wolsey retired after his fall, to discover too late *that fidelity to God brings a higher and more certain blessing than the most devoted fidelity to an earthly king*,—here, where Wolsey's royal rival, Henry, passed a night in 1541,—here, where James the First solicited of the Archbishop "that he might take his royal pastime in the Forest of Sherwood," in this very Manor House, or in one of its offices, met the simple, humble Separatist worshippers, Robinson, Brewster and Bradford, the leaders of the Pilgrim band, the founders of the civil and religious liberties of America.

I had the honour to lay, a few years since, the memorial stone of a building in Southwark, for the use of the Church, the successors of the Separatists of the sixteenth century, on a spot closely adjacent to that on which Penry was martyred.* To that memorial building grateful Englishmen and Americans contributed. Would it not be appropriate, let me ask, if some humble but serviceable memorial were erected on the site of the

* The Pilgrim Fathers' Congregational Church in the Kent Road, successors of the church worshipping in Deadman's Place, Southwark, from which some went over in the "Mayflower."

Manor House at Scrooby, to which Americans, in future days, when the sublime story is re-written, and they shall become better acquainted with their own antecedents, might direct their steps as to a shrine sacred to them as the tomb of Washington, who gave them Independence, or as the grave of their Martyr President, who preserved them from dismemberment and proclaimed liberty to the slave?

But to return to my argument—the Pilgrim Fathers were Separatists; did they retain their principles or repudiate them on their arrival in the New World? Did they, as the Poetess has asserted, "Leave unstained what there they found, Freedom to worship God"? The probabilities of the case would certainly lean to the side of that conclusion. If they had clung to their principles through martyrdom, persecution, suffering and the loss of all things, it would be *improbable in the extreme* that they should repudiate their most cherished convictions upon crossing the Atlantic. True it is that human nature is often inconsistent; but not that part of it which has passed through the crucible of trial and the furnace of suffering for the sake of principle. "Can gold grow worthless that has stood the touch"? No; there is a *prima facie* difficulty in the outset in believing that the Pilgrim Fathers persecuted for conscience' sake. Bear in mind also that "had they been mindful of that country whence they came out they might have had opportunity to have returned." The "Mayflower" stood in the harbour with sails flapping for many a week; just one-half of the party died during the first winter from privation and exposure, but no one returned.

> "Oh, strong hearts and true! not one went back in the 'Mayflower'!
> No, not one looked back who had set his hand to that ploughing."*

Home, friends, native country, comfort, the world's applause—all might have been theirs had they changed their opinions, had they abandoned their principles. One, we hear of, returning to transact some business in England, and he was *imprisoned* on landing, and kept close prisoner for seventeen weeks; why endure this if he had been prepared to abandon views which he found untenable? The charge that the Pilgrim Fathers persecuted is as *unreasonable* as it is *unhistorical*, and about as probable as that the Friends should upon landing have entered into a military con-

* Longfellow.

vention with the other colonists for the extermination of the Indians, or that the Jesuits should have established a Society to send the Scriptures to the people in their native tongue. Had no other course been open to me, I should have been well content to rest my case upon this *a priori* argument, and to have thrown upon any opponent the onus of producing *one word of original or contemporaneous history* in support of his opinion. I am not, however, reduced to this course, having original documentary evidence of a positive character that is perfectly conclusive that what the Pilgrims were upon landing, that they remained, through evil report and good report; that when charged with their Separatist views they did not abjure them, although they repudiated the term of reproach; that in an age when the vast majority of men were persecutors in heart and practice, they held aloof from and reprobated such practices, that they sheltered and acted kindly towards the persecuted—Roger Williams included; and that when they, the Pilgrim Fathers, were laid in their graves, and the Friends arrived in New England, some of their sons and successors were advocates of toleration and supporters of the Friends. The evidence is voluminous; the only difficulty I experience is in reference to selection and condensation, so as to bring the subject within the compass of this address.

I have failed to find any writer who, until very recent times, say the present century, has given currency to the allegation which I am engaged to disprove—That the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth persecuted for conscience' sake. I have been referred to Sewall's "History of the People called Quakers," but he does not affirm the matter in question; indeed, if we regard his chronology as correct, he acquits the Pilgrim Fathers of any share of the persecutions alluded to. He was evidently little acquainted with religious parties *outside* the Society whose history he records, so that his statements upon this point are worthless, either for condemnation or acquittal. He wrote in Holland, and had no knowledge of State documents in England, outside the history of the Friends.

Speaking, as I do, before the Friends' Society, I must devote a little time to his statements, which, under other circumstances, I should pass by as of no weight in regard to this matter.

In Sewall (vol. i. pp. 6, 7) I find the following:—

"The Bishops under Queen Elizabeth were content with the Reformation made by Cranmer, yet it pleased God, in the year 1568, to raise other persons that testified publicly against many of the remaining superstitions; and although Coleman, Burton, Hallingham, and Benson were imprisoned by the Queen's order, yet they got many followers and also the name of *Puritans*. And notwithstanding the Archbishop, to prevent this, drew up some articles of faith, to be signed by all clergymen, yet he met with great opposition in the undertaking: for one ROBERT BROWN, a young student of Cambridge (from whom the name of "Brownists" was afterwards borrowed), and RICHARD HARRISON, a schoolmaster, published, in the year 1583, some books wherein they showed how much the Church of England was still infected with Romish errors; which was of such effect that the eyes of many people came thereby to be opened, who so valiantly maintained that doctrine which they believed to be the truth, that some of the most zealous among them, viz., HENRY BARROWE, JOHN GREENWOOD, and JOHN PENRY, about the year 1593, were put to death because of their testimony, more (as may very well be believed) by the instigation of the clergy than by the desire of the Queen. After the death of Queen Elizabeth, when James I. had ascended the throne, the followers of those men suffered much for their SEPARATION from the Church of England; but very remarkable it is, that even those of that persuasion, of which many in the reign of *King Charles I.* went to New England to avoid the persecution of the bishops, afterwards themselves turned cruel persecutors of pious people by inhuman whippings, &c., and, lastly, by putting some to death by the hands of a hangman."

A more involved and illogical statement was never penned. I must devote a few minutes to its dissection.

The writer first enumerates certain reformers *in* the Church of England—to wit, Coleman, Burton, Hallingham, and Benson; he states, truly enough, that they got the name of "*Puritans*," that they drew up articles of faith to be signed by "*Clergymen:*" all this is quite true, and he might have added that which I supply from their Petition to the Privy Council, in which they say of the "Brownists" or Separatists, "We *abhor* these and we *punish* them."*

Sewall then goes on to enumerate correctly other sufferers for conscience' sake, beginning with Brown (from whom he says the term "Brownist" was borrowed), Richard Harrison, Henry Barrowe, John Greenwood, and John Penry; he tells us further that the three latter were put to death about 1593 by the instigation of the clergy, more than by desire of the Queen, that their followers in James's reign suffered much for their "*separ-*

* "Parte of a Register," p. 129.

ation" from the Church of England. All of which is perfectly true.

We have here, then, *two* distinct parties: one of them described as *"Puritans"* and *"Clergymen,"* imprisoned for desiring reform *in* the Church of England, temp. Elizabeth; another party executed in the same reign for *"separation"* from that Church, and treated with severity in the reign of James I.

Here are the premisses; now then for the conclusion, "but very remarkable it is, that even those of *that* persuasion who went out in *Charles the First's reign,* persecuted by whipping and hanging."

"Those of that persuasion"! WHICH persuasion? *This is the very question.* Sewall does not tell us, and it is evident that he did not know the difference between the two persuasions enumerated, and that the one *"abhorred"* the other and *"punished"* them, even to death, and had done so for half a century. Could these persons of undecided persuasion be the Pilgrim Fathers? Certainly not, according to Sewall, for the Pilgrim Fathers emigrated, according to every authority, in 1620 (eighteenth year of James the First), while Sewall tells us that it was "persons of *that persuasion* who went out in the reign of *Charles the First"* who persecuted by whipping and hanging. He acquits, therefore, the Pilgrim Fathers, for those who emigrated in James's reign could not be those who came to New England in the following reign. The truth is, however, that Sewall, however reliable an authority he may be as it regards the Society of Friends, evidently did not know and failed to notice that he was writing of *two perfectly distinct religious parties,* and ignorantly confounding these parties, draws conclusions which are historically worthless. I may remark that he wrote in Holland, in Low Dutch, of events which happened in England and America, and was doubtless in no position to speak from original documents, excepting such as were supplied by the Society of Friends. From some such involved history it is probable that the whole confusion of dates and parties has arisen.

The facts, so far as they can be compressed into a paragraph, are these. The colony of Virginia (South) was first attempted by settlers exclusively EPISCOPAL. But that settlement resulted

in total failure. The Pilgrim Fathers landed at Plymouth in 1620 (18th James I.), and they were, as I have shown, SEPARATISTS or Brownists. The third colony or settlement was that planted at Salem and Boston, Massachusetts, by PURITANS in 1630 (5th Charles I.), that party having in turn come under the persecuting hands of the English Prelates, Bancroft and Laud. *It was these* PURITANS *of Boston, who contended for Church and State connection, who passed the Acts against the Quakers, and were guilty of whippings, brandings, tongue-piercing, and selling into slavery; which cruelties have been ignorantly charged to the account of the* PILGRIM FATHERS.

I purpose not to disinter the loathsome narrative of State Church Puritan intolerance in New England. It might well remain buried, were it not that those, who should know better, confound the story of its infamy with that of the pioneers of religious freedom; and were it not salutary to note what the State with the Priest are capable of when they combine to promote the religion of the meek and merciful Jesus. I quote only the introduction of WHITTIER'S touching poem—too lengthy to introduce—*Cassandra Southwick.*

He says, "This ballad has its foundation upon a somewhat remarkable event in the history of *Puritan intolerance.* Two young persons, son and daughter of Lawrence Southwick, of Salem—who had been himself imprisoned and deprived of *all his property* for having entertained the Quakers at his house—were fined ten pounds each for *non-attendance at Church,* which fines they were unable to pay. The case being represented to the General Court at Boston, that body issued an order, which may still be seen on the Court Records, bearing the signature of Edward Rawson, Secretary, by which the treasurer of the County was 'fully empowered to *sell* the said persons to any of the English nation at Virginia or Barbadoes, to answer said fines!'" "An attempt," adds Whittier, "was made to carry this barbarous order into execution, but no shipmaster was found willing to convey them to the West Indies."—*Vide* also *Sewall's History,* pp. 225 and 226.

I now proceed to prove that the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth *remained Separatists;* that they neither repudiated the term nor relinquished their principles; that they received Roger Williams into their Church, and sheltered and helped him; that they had

gone to their graves before the first of the Friends came to New England, and therefore had no opportunity (in the flesh at least) of persecuting them, and that their successors—some of them, at all events—inherited their principles and advocated toleration of the Friends.

And, first, as to the Pilgrim Fathers retaining their Separatist views. The colony of Plymouth was dependent greatly upon the "Merchant Adventurers" of London, who were of the State religion, no other being tolerated. From a correspondence which survives, we learn that the Pilgrims were directly charged by the Merchant Company with *holding Separatist views.** A letter written by Mr. Sherley, one of the merchants, dated 25th January, 1625, states that charges had been brought against the colonists that they allowed "*diversity about religion;*" they replied, "We know no such matter, for there was never any controversy or opposition, either public or private, to our knowledge, since we came." But what was the religion on which all were agreed? In the same year, another letter charges them "with receiving a man into their Church that in his confession *renounced universal, national, and diocesan Churches,* by which (say they) it appears that, though you deny the name 'Brownists,' *yet you practise the same,* and therefore you sin against God in building up such a people." The Adventurers demanded that they should conform to their views of governing the colony; that the "French discipline" (whatever that may have been) should be practised, and "that Mr. Robinson and his company at Leyden should not be allowed to join them, *unless they would reconcile themselves to the Church by a recantation under their hands.*" This recantation was never forthcoming. Mr. Sherley wrote again at this junction, and tells the colonists that a party of the merchants "were for a full desertion and forsaking of them," and he adds, "it is pretended that you are 'Brownists,'" and he adjures them to leave their "evil views." This advice, though well intended, was not adopted. Through good and evil report they held to their principles.†

We must now turn our attention to the Massachusetts colony. Finding the colonists of Plymouth to be holding their ground, after eight years' struggles, the PURITAN party in England, who

* Bradford's "Plimoth Plantation." † Ibid.

had now come in turn to experience the rigours of persecution, formed a large company in 1628. The first fleet of three vessels left the Isle of Wight in May, 1629. There can be no question as to their religious views, for in their farewell address they say, "We do NOT go to New England as SEPARATISTS from the Church of England, though we cannot but separate from the corruptions in it.* Some, however, of the Separatists found a passage in their ships and joined their friends at Plymouth, and an outcry was accordingly raised against the Company. John White, promoter of the Massachusetts Company, in 1630, meets the charge thus raised: "I persuade myself," he says, "there is no *Separatist* known unto the Governor, or if there be any it is far from their purpose, as it is far from their safety, to continue him among them." In the course of the voyage it was discovered that RALPH SMITH, a minister who had adopted Separatist views, was on board. Cradock writes on behalf of the Company to the Governor of Massachusetts, 1629, "Passage was granted to him (Smith) before we understood his difference of judgment in some things from our ministry, and though we have a very good opinion of his honesty, we give you this order, that unless he will be conformable to our government, *you suffer him not to remain within the limits of your grant.*" Here is the first persecuting edict, and it is directed against a *Separatist* minister by a *Puritan* Company.

Ralph Smith was kept for a long time in isolation—a sort of spiritual quarantine. Now mark the different treatment he received from the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth. Bradford, the Governor, writes, "There was one Ralph Smith and his wife and family that came over into the Bay of Massachusetts, and sojourned at present with some straggling people that lived at Nantuckett." Bradford then says Smith was reduced to great straits, and had requested a passage to Plymouth and shelter there, and adds, "He was here *accordingly kindly entreated and honoured,* and had the rest of his goods sent for, and exercised his gifts among us, and afterwards was *chosen into the ministry,* and so remained many years."† Hubbard, an early historian of New England, says, "He, Smith, approved the rigid way of *Separation* principles."

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* Cotton Mather's "Magnalia," Book III., Part II., chap. I.

† Bradford's "Plimoth Plantation."

We now come in chronological order to the case of ROGER WILLIAMS. He arrived in the ship "Lyon" at Boston on the 5th of February, 1630—31. He was from Wales—a *Separatist*. He held Baptist sentiments for a time, and then relinquished them. We should classify him, according to the language of the period, as "Separatist Anabaptist." He was no member of the Society of Friends; indeed, no more uncompromising opponent of some of their views ever existed, but he was no persecutor, although Fox charges him with being one. When George Fox subsequently visited New England, Williams sent him a challenge to meet him in argument upon fourteen several points. Fox had sailed before the challenge reached him, but he replied in a letter, which is extant. These documents I shall not quote; they reflect too much the spirit of bitter partizanship which then characterized religious controversy; besides, I consider that Williams unfairly and untruly speaks of some of the views of the Friends, and Fox altogether mistook his man when he called Williams "a bloody persecutor." It is foreign to my purpose to contend as to the particular views of Williams. I entirely endorse the glowing eulogy pronounced upon him by Edward Newman, on a previous evening. He was a man of whom the "world was not worthy." He belongs to the Church of Christ—to Friends, and to Separatists, and to Baptists alike. He held the principles of Church polity, which are common to the free churches, and it will be enough to say of him that he is doubtless a member of that "Church of the First-Born whose names are recorded in Heaven."*

Let us gather from his own pen what he was in reference to the Pilgrim Fathers of Plymouth. In a letter addressed by him, late in life, to John Cotton, of Plymouth, he says, "In New England, being unanimously chosen teacher at Boston before your dear father came, divers years, I conscientiously refused, and I withdrew to Plymouth, because I durst not officiate to an UNSEPARATING people, as upon examination and conference I found them (*i.e.*, of Boston) to be."†

This is conclusive, he was Separatist in his views, and could not minister to an "*unseparating*" church, such as that estab-

* Heb. xii. 23.

† Original Letter in MSS. of Massachusetts Historical Society.

lished at Salem or at Boston, and he withdrew to the more congenial religious society of the Plymouth colony. This is confirmed by what follows. The church at Salem, originally a Puritan settlement, having advanced under the direct influence of the Pilgrim Fathers, to Separatist views, invited R. Williams to become their pastor. Winthrop, Governor of Massachusetts, in his Journal of the 12th of April, 1631, informs us how the Boston Council opposed the arrangement: he says, "at a court holden at Boston upon information of the Governor that they of Salem had called Mr. Williams to the office of a teacher, a letter was written from the court to Endicott to this effect, that whereas Mr. Williams had refused to join with the congregation at Boston because they would not make a public declaration of their *repentance for having communion with the Church of England* while they lived there; therefore they marvelled they would choose him without advising with the Council; and withal desiring him that they would forbear to proceed till they had conference about it."* The church at Salem, notwithstanding this dictation, received Mr. Williams. He was, however, obliged to retire from Salem before the opposition of the Boston Council. Where did he retire to? To the Pilgrim Fathers' colony at Plymouth, where he was received with marked respect and kindness, and he became assistant to Ralph Smith, who had been driven out before him by the Puritan colonists. Governor Bradford, in his Journal, says: "He, Williams, was freely entertained amongst us, according to our poor ability, exercised his gifts amongst us, and after some time was admitted *a member of the Church*, and his teaching was well approved." This does not look like persecution. A diversity of sentiment, however, afterwards occurred, and, at Williams' own desire, he returned to the church at Salem. Bradford, under date 1633, says: "This year Mr. Williams began to fall into some strange opinions, and from opinions to practice, which caused some controversy between the church and him, and in the end some discontent, *on his part*, by occasion whereof he left us somewhat abruptly. Yet afterwards sued for his dismission to the church at Salem, which was granted, with some caution to them concerning him."† The opinions of R. Williams referred to were, as we shall see, political rather than

* Winthrop's "History of New England."
† Bradford's "Plimoth Plantation."

religious; indeed, he called in question the right of the Crown to the soil of the colonies—an opinion which, if put into practice, would now as then justify a charge of high treason. It must be stated, moreover, that just at this juncture (1633) Archbishop Laud, who had heard of the successful planting of the Separatist and Puritan colonies respectively, determined to break them up by force of arms. Orders of the Privy Council were issued to detain the ships about to depart from England. Sir Simon D'Ewes, in 1634, says, "There was a consultation had to send thither (New England) a *thousand soldiers;* a ship was then building and near finished;" and he tells us further, "there was much fear amongst the godly lest their infant Commonwealth should have been ruined."* Edward Winslow, one of the Pilgrims, visiting England at this date, was thrown into prison for seventeen weeks on account of his religious practice in the colony. Such dangers threatening from England, it can well be understood that the colonists would be careful to give no good ground of offence to the *civil rights* of the Crown; hence the caution to the church at Salem respecting the political opinions held by Williams, whilst they remitted him to them as a Christian brother with whom they had been on terms of amity, and of whom they afterwards spoke with love and affection. After much conflict with the Boston authorities on various points, Roger Williams was ordered to *depart out of their jurisdiction,* September 3, 1636. He was allowed, however, to remain until the following spring, when Williams proposed to form a settlement at Narrangansett Bay. The Boston authorities did not consider him safe at that distance, and gave orders to ship him to England—*an unwarrantable act of intolerance,* considering that they themselves were fugitives from persecution at home. How did the Pilgrim Fathers regard and treat Williams at this juncture? Winslow, one of them, writes on this occasion, "I know that Mr. Williams, though a man *lovely in his carriage, and whom I trust the Lord will yet recall,* held forth on the unlawfulness of our letters patent from the King, and would not allow the colours of our nation."† He regrets his political views, particularly dangerous to the infant colony at this crisis, but he has nothing but kindly words as to

* "Autobiography and Correspondence of Sir Simon D'Ewes, Bart," ii., 118.

† Winslow's "Hypocrisie Unmasked," &c.

his character, and trusts in God to recall him. Roger Williams confirms this under his own hand. From Seekouk (Rehoboth) he writes, "I received a letter from my ANCIENT FRIEND, Mr. Winslow, the Governor of Plymouth, *professing his own and others' love and respect for me*, yet LOVINGLY *advising* me, since I was fallen into the edge of their bounds, and they were loth to displease the Bay (the colony of Massachusetts), to remove to the other side of the river, and there, he said, I had the country before me, and *I might be as free as themselves*, and we should be *loving neighbours together*."* This was good as well as kind advice, and promoted peace and resulted in security and freedom to R. Williams. In another letter Williams informs us that the good offices of Governor Winslow did not stop at good and kind advice; he writes, "That great and pious soul, Mr. Winslow, melted, and kindly *visited* me at Providence, and put a piece of *gold into the hands of my wife* for our supply."† Beyond this expression of desire for the sake of peace with their neighbours of the Bay, that Williams would cross the river to found his new settlement, there is not one word of MS. history which can be construed into an act of persecution or unkindness on the part of the original settlers of New Plymouth, while, on the other hand, Williams ever speaks gratefully of the kind treatment and loving advice which the Plymouth colonists extended to him.

We now come, in chronological order, to the alleged persecution of *The Friends* by the Pilgrim Fathers,—an allegation which, but for the wide-spread credit it has obtained amongst the members of a truth-loving Society, I should treat with the disrespect which it deserves. Williams was a contemporary of the Pilgrim Fathers in New England, *the Friends were not.* Persecution of the Friends by the Pilgrim Fathers was chronologically impracticable. George Fox, a good authority on such a point, says, "In 1655 many went beyond sea, where truth also sprung up; and *in* 1656 *it broke forth in America.*"‡

It will be seen that this was thirty-five years after the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers in 1620 (a date which cannot be shaken). *In* 1656 *every leader of that party, whose name history has recorded, was in his grave.* John Carver, first Governor, died in

* Roger Williams' Letter to Major Mason, in Mass. Hist. Coll., i. 276.
† Ibid., 275 ‡ Fox's "Journal."

1621; John Robinson died in 1625; Samuel Fuller in 1633; Elder Brewster in 1643; Edward Winslow (Williams's friend and correspondent) died in 1655; Myles Standish in 1656; and in the same year William Bradford, of Scrooby, historian of the party, closed his career in the 69th year of his age, in the very year in which George Fox says that the truth held by the Friends broke forth in America. At this date great changes had taken place in New England. Plymouth was no longer an independent colony, but only one of a Confederation of the four New England settlements of Plymouth, Massachusetts, Connecticut and New Haven, and we now come in order to enquire whether the *successors* of the Pilgrim Fathers, who had now passed off the scene, forgot the religious principles of their fathers. I am not called to prove this, but it is very satisfactory to find that some of the sons and successors of the Pilgrim Fathers suffered obloquy and made sacrifices for their hostility to the persecuting acts of the Council in relation to the Friends.

Isaac Robinson, son of John Robinson, pastor of the Pilgrims at Leyden, was disfranchised for his opposition to the laws against the Quakers in 1659, and removed from his place in the government of Plymouth colony. At the period at which we have now arrived, an important branch settlement and Church of Separatists had been formed at Scituate, near to Plymouth. This settlement was formed of members of the Separatist church in Southwark, under Henry Jacob, to whom we have had occasion to refer. It was joined in 1634 by John Lothrop, also pastor of the Southwark church, and on his arrival at Scituate some of the Plymouth colonists went to join them. They are known in the Colonial History as "the men of Kent." Amongst those who joined and befriended the church at Scituate, we find Isaac Robinson, just referred to, also Timothy Hatherley and James Cudworth. The church was accustomed to meet at the house of the latter. I have said that Isaac Robinson suffered disfranchisement and removal from office for befriending the Quakers; Cudworth and Hatherley also suffered from the same cause. Cudworth was assistant to the Governor in 1656–8, and a Commissioner of the United Colonies in 1657. In 1658 he fell under the displeasure of the Commissioners, "*because he would not set his hand to the laws* which had been propounded to the several Courts to be enacted *against the Quakers*." He was left out of

the magistracy and Board of Commissioners, and deprived of his military command. In 1659, being returned as a Deputy by the town of Scituate the Court rejected him. A letter of his, in 1658, shows plainly what were his sentiments. The anti-Christian and persecuting spirit," he says, "is very active, and that in the powers of the world. He that will not lash, persecute and punish men that differ in matter of religion, must not sit on the bench nor sustain any office in the Commonwealth. Last election," he adds, "Mr. Hatherley and myself were left off the bench, and myself discharged my captainship, because I entertained some of the Quakers at my house that I might thereby be the better acquainted with their principles. But the Quakers and myself *cannot close in divers things*, and so I signified to the Court; but *I told them withal that as I was no Quaker, so I would be no* PERSECUTOR."* He then narrates how for two whole years he had been in opposition to the ruling powers on behalf of the same cause, and describes feelingly the sufferings of the Friends, which he says "*saddened the hearts of the precious saints of God.*"

James Bowden, in his "History of the Friends in America," bears testimony to the noble conduct of Cudworth and Hatherley, particularly in reference to their protecting three members of the Society, William Brand, John Copland, and Sarah Gibbons. Hatherley, as a magistrate, furnished them with a free pass to protect them on their way.

CONCLUSION.

My task is accomplished. I have shown, as well as I knew how, and so far as time has permitted, that the Pilgrim Fathers and their precursors in England, Holland, and at Plymouth, were *Separatists*, and had no connection with the *Puritans*, who subsequently settled in New England, at Salem and Boston in Massachusetts; that the principles and practices of the two parties, confounded by some careless writers, differed essentially. The *Separatists* ever contending for freedom of conscience and separation from the powers of the State, while the *Puritans* remained in connection and communion with the State Church, and held both in England and New England that the State should be authoritative in matters of religion. Hence the anti-

* "History of Scituate," p. 246.

Christian and intolerant acts of the Puritan colony to the Separatists, Ralph Smyth, Roger Williams, Isaac Robinson, John Cudworth, and Timothy Hatherley. Hence, also, on the arrival of the Friends, the cruel laws for whipping, banishing, and executing for matters of religious faith and practice. I have shown that the Separatist colony of Plymouth had no share in this intolerant conduct during the lives of the Pilgrim Fathers, and, moreover, that they acted kindly, and received into their Church both Smyth and Roger Williams when forbidden to worship freely elsewhere; and that *after the death of the Pilgrim Fathers*, some of their sons and successors, acting up to their principles, shielded the Friends, and refused to be parties to the persecuting laws then enacted. This last point I was not pledged to support by proof, but I felt it due to the noble men of whom I have been speaking to show that they left some noble successors behind them.

It may interest you to know that two eminent historians recently deceased, virtually admitted the truth of that which I have to-night affirmed. I refer to Lord Macaulay and Earl Stanhope (Lord Mahon), who as Commissioners for decorating historically the House of Lords, were appealed to respecting an erroneous inscription placed under Mr. Cope's painting of the Pilgrim Fathers landing in New England. The inscription stood "Departure of a *Puritan* Family for New England," but after listening to the proofs submitted, and hearing Mr. Cope, who stated that he had taken his ideas from Bradford's "Plimoth Plantation," the Commissioners ordered the terms "*Puritan Family*" to be removed, as unjust to the memory of the parties concerned, and substituted the words "PILGRIM FATHERS."*

It may be objected "this is merely a question of names, dates, and localities; that if the Pilgrim Fathers did not persecute, the Puritan colony of Massachusetts did." It is, however, a question of graver importance than this—even of *truth, justice, and principle*. It is due to truth itself that truth should be spoken, if ascertainable, upon every subject. It is due to the parties concerned that justice should be done to their memories; it is just, moreover, to their ecclesiastical successors to this day, and to the end of time. It is due to the high and sacred principles

* The painting in the Lords' Corridor has still the word "Mayflower," instead of "Speedwell," on the ship represented as leaving Delft Haven.

involved that they should be rightly stated—for ourselves, our children, and our children's children, will either learn or unlearn right principles as they are placed truly before them, or withheld from their observation. It is due also upon the common ground of justice from man to man. History which confounds right and wrong, the persecutor with the persecuted, is not only unjust, but worthless. History so written would confound the slaveholder with the enslaved; indeed, would treat as one and the same, the rabble of priests and scribes, who clamoured for the crucifixion of our Lord and the small weeping band of sympathisers who surrounded His cross. Religious history which does not accurately and justly discriminate between not *men only* but their PRINCIPLES, had better never have been written.

This question is of grave importance to you, my friends, who listen to me to-night. The struggle commenced at the Reformation is not yet over; indeed, in some respects, it has hardly yet begun in some of the countries of Europe. The Society of Friends, in common with all who virtually hold Separatist views, are awakening to the fact that those great religious questions opened in the Tudor and Stuart period, are reserved for final settlement in our day. America—thanks to the Separatists and the Friends—has led the van, and Europe must soon follow; but if our ecclesiastical trumpets give forth uncertain, confused, and conflicting sounds, who shall prepare himself for the struggle? "Europe," says the late Abbott Lawrence, United States Ambassador to this country, "Europe has begun to study the principles of the Pilgrim Fathers;" *well, but what were those principles?* This is *the* question—Were they the principles of a Church claiming to be dominant and exclusive, and to hold authority over the minds and consciences of men, placing earthly rulers on the throne of spiritual supremacy? or were they the principles of churches which know no king but Christ, no law but His Word, no teaching but that Word as it shall be applied to *each man's conscience* individually by the influence of the Holy Spirit? churches which repudiate human authority, however august, whether of kings, councils, or parliaments? churches which hold that while the most devoted loyalty is due to civil rulers, loyalty to Christ demands that He should be Lord of conscience? churches which, in short, "render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's?"

Are not these two systems sufficiently distinct to render justice to their confessors and founders an act of fairness and Christian duty? If they be not sufficiently distinctive to render such justice incumbent upon all of us Separatists of the present day (by whatever name we be termed), then it follows as a necessary consequence that we are not justified in our separation from the churches established in this or any other land by the authority of the State.

I have long known and respected many of those in whose Institute I have the honour to speak to-night, and although I see not with them in all things, yet it has long been my privilege to work with them in various philanthropic departments—for elevating the down-trodden, reclaiming the drunkard, shielding the oppressed, and freeing the slave. My grandfather was first treasurer of the Peace Society formed in this City; and from his and my own experience of the Friends and their history, I have come to regard them as amongst the most uncompromising and indomitable of the advocates of truth and right. The banner of free conscience and free worship, first openly unfurled by the *Separatists* in the Tudor period and carried through all the bloody struggle, was also grasped and upheld by the *Friends* in the time of the Stuarts, and the two parties, side by side, both in England and America, have ever since lifted it higher and higher, and have rallied under it an *ever-increasing host*, till this day.

And there are yet grander triumphs reserved for the allied bands. Thirty millions of free (now, 1891, sixty-two and a half millions) worshippers across the Atlantic, as equal, religiously, before *men* as they are before God, beckon us to imitate and to emulate their example. To do so efficiently we must keep clear our views of truth and right, and we must be just to those who taught us our principles, having tested them in the furnace of suffering; and our course shall be distinct, our conduct consistent, and our alliance efficacious and enduring, and the God of truth and right will second our humble endeavours, and give to all the Churches of his Son, as at the beginning, freedom, equality, true fraternity, and peace. AMEN.

Dr. Vaughan, in the "British Quarterly Review," October, 1856, estimates the number of churches in ENGLAND, AMERICA, and the COLONIES which may be termed "Congregational," or self-governing, at over 30,000.

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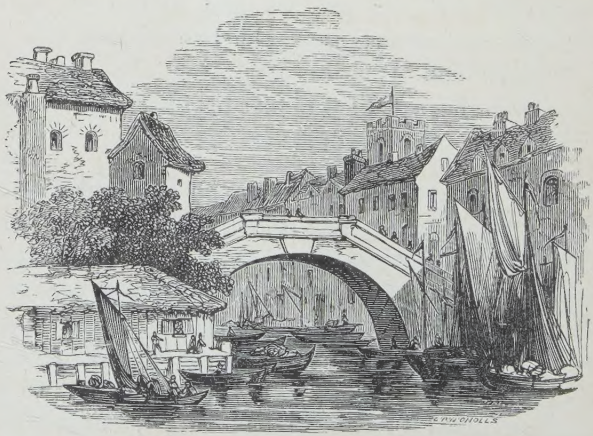
If he had included in his enumeration other churches which, although not Congregational, are yet *free from State control*, the number would certainly now exceed 100,000—*far outnumbering those which are dependent upon or controlled by the powers of the State.*

It must not be overlooked that it is only in portions of Great Britain that State Churchism amongst the English-speaking races survives. Two-thirds of the people of Scotland, all of those in Ireland, and one-half of the inhabitants of England and Wales, are free from State control in the matter of their religion, although they may not be free from its indirect influence. All the inhabitants of Canada, Australia, and other Colonies, and of the United States, are Freechurchmen. Probably the total may be set down at from ninety to one hundred millions.

Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Roman Catholics, in these latter countries, enjoy, although they sought them not, the blessings and advantages of freedom to worship God without the interference of the State—freedom won for them first by the consistency of the Separatist martyrs and confessors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is most improbable that either of these Churches will ever seek to place itself under the yoke of any President of the United States or Colonial Governor. Truly, A little one *has* become a thousand, and a small one a strong nation! (Isa. ix. 22.)



The old Fleet Bridge, "over against the House of Bridewell."

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